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PROGRAM CONTENT TO MEET THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF MEXICAN-AMERICANS.

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PROGRAMMING A CURRICULUM TO MEET THE NEEDS OF MEXICAN AMERICAN YOUTH IS A DIFFICULT TASK. CENTRAL TO PROGRAMMING IS THE QUESTION OF WHETHER NEEDS AND CONTENT ARE TO BE IDENTIFIED AND DETERMINED ON THE BASIS OF ANGLO OR MEXICAN AMERICAN CRITERIA. TWO MAJOR STANCES ON THIS ISSUE HAVE DEVELOPED WHICH ARE--(1) THAT THE MEXICAN AMERICAN NEEDS TO LEARN ANGLO BEHAVIORS AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND (2) THAT THE MEXICAN AMERICAN SHOULD AND HAS THE RIGHT TO RETAIN HIS OWN CULTURE. THIS PAPER INCLUDES FIVE AREAS OF AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL IF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN IS TO EXPERIENCE A GOOD EDUCATION. FIRST, THE LANGUAGE NEEDS OF MEXICAN AMERICANS NECESSITATE THE USE OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE THROUGH THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS. SECONDLY, A GREAT DEAL OF EMPHASIS IS NEEDED IN THE AREA OF COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT. THE THIRD AREA IS THAT OF PROPER AFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT, WHICH, IF LEFT UNATTENDED, MAY BRING ABOUT GRAVE PSYCHOLOGICAL COSTS. FOURTH, THERE IS A NEED FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS WHICH WILL FOSTER BETTER INTER-GROUP RELATIONS. THE LAST AREA IS THE NEED FOR GOOD OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION AT THE SECONDARY LEVEL. (ES)

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PROGRAM CONTENT TO MEET THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF MEXICAN-AMERICANS

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The educational needs of Mexican-Americans are many and varied. This paper focuses primarily on some of the major educational needs of elementary and secondary school students. For purposes of discussion and analysis each aspect of educational programming is discussed separately; however, it is recognized that in practice these several aspects operate at the same time. Space does not permit specifying content as is implied in the title of this paper. In most cases educational prescription is at best hazardous, given the issues involved and the present stage of research and experimentation with some of the major and finer points of programming. This paper then might be described best as an effort to provide bases for programming.

Attention is first given to language programs. Several unsolved aspects of these language programs are identified.

Programs for cognitive development are then discussed. Developments in this area of programming promise much in contributing to the solution of previously unidentified aspects of Mexican-American Education. While recognizing the intimate relationship between language and cognitive development, it is the belief of this writer, that of the two, cognitive development rather than language offers more promise and should receive the major emphasis in school programs for Mexican-Americans, with language assuming the place of means and not ends as is common in most programs today.

A third aspect of programming discussed in this paper has to do with affective development. Attention is first drawn to the tremendous psychological costs to the Mexican-American that are entailed in learning a different way of life from that in which he was born. It is hoped that once educators comprehend what is occurring and the reasons why it is occurring, that changes will be made in the curricular and instructional programs now in effect in most schools that will either ameliorate or minimize the damages of transculturation. Like cognitive development, this is an uncharted area and until very recently, an unrecognized one, in the education of the Mexican-Americans.

A fourth aspect of programming which is discussed is that of intergroup relations between the Anglo and the Mexican-American. This is an unpopular area of school programming with many school boards, administrators and community power structures, who would prefer to leave it unmolested. However, to leave it alone implies there is a choice when, in fact, there is no longer any choice. To be unconcerned with it is to invite conflict. The Mexican-American no longer accepts the accommodational patterns that have developed in the Southwest in the past. New accommodational patterns are emerging with more egalitarian status for the Mexican-American.

A final area of programming which is discussed has to do with occupational education. The usual secondary school vocational education programs are not meeting the needs of the Mexican-American. New approaches need to be developed. Whether schools as they are now organized can meet these new demands is an unanswered question at present.

A number of other educational needs for out-of-school and adult groups are not discussed. Educational needs, and hence programs, if defined broadly, would include all life needs of the people. This paper is limited to a discussion of those groups and problems indicated above.

A central question throughout the education of the Mexican-Americans is whether the educational establishment can or will change the administrative, organizational, financial, and curricular arrangements now used in order to meet the special educational needs of the Mexican-American, or whether attempts will take the form of minor modifications within the existing arrangements.

A Basic Issue

Central to programming is the question of whether needs and content for Mexican-Americans are to be identified and determined on the basis of Anglo or Mexican-American criteria. This is no easy problem, but it cannot be disregarded because of its pervasiveness in decisions regarding content and instructional aspects of programming. There seem to be two major stances on the issue, with some variations between the poles of the continuum.

The first, from the standpoint of Anglo criteria, is that the Mexican-American needs to learn Anglo behaviors as quickly as possible. (Mexican-American behavior by lack of support and usage would atrophy or become Anglicized). The arguments supporting this position, which is not confined solely to Anglos but is held consciously or unconsciously by many Mexican-Americans as well, run the gamut from the practical to the ideological, from the overt to the covert. From this standpoint, for example, the learning of English is imperative.

The other extreme position holds that the Mexican-American should and has the right, in this country, to retain his own culture. Adherents of this position also recognize the need for the Mexican-American to learn how to function in the majority society. The renaissance of the present interest in the Mexican-American on the part of the Mexican-American himself, is, at least partially, an assertion by the Mexican-American in a society committed to pluralistic values but foisting a unilateral choice on him, at times unwittingly and at times quite consciously. Many Mexican-Americans point to the fact that throughout the Southwest there are many Mexican-Americans who can no longer speak their own native language and that this number is increasing. This is due primarily because the Anglo-controlled schools have imposed English as the sole language to be learned, or have been unwilling to make the additional investment for keeping the Spanish language alive among the Spanish-speaking groups. One of the first desires fostered by the newly-awakened ethno-centricism among the Mexican-American is to propagate the language. The Mexican-American is saying he wants first of all to be accepted as a Mexican-American on his own terms and that he is willing to press the issue all the way.

Educational programming cannot avoid the issue. The educational planner cannot get clues regarding how the Mexican-American feels about the issue since the very heterogeneity of the Mexican-American makes it extremely difficult to find spokesmen for the variations held on the issue. It is unlikely, however, that the Mexican-American will allow a Drift position to predominate. As Mexican-American opinion crystalizes, it may become less of a problem than it is at present.

I. LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

As far back as thoughtful educators began to recognize the special educational needs of Spanish-speaking pupils, the teaching of English was recognized as basic, at times as the sole panacea to the educational problems posed by the Mexican-American students. (1) Fewer educators proposed the teaching of Spanish either as enrichment or as the language of instruction, but there were some. (2) The term "English-as-a-second-language" did not come into general use until after World War II. The general supposition made in language programs was that once a student learned English, the educational program for him should be the same as for the native-English-speaker regardless of social class or culture. As further thinking and research proceeds it is now realized that this was an erroneous assumption.

English Programs

The early programs provided a year of English instruction to pupils in the first grade; later, this year was called the "Pre-first", since the instruction was given a year prior to the first grade. The entering school age remained the same in most cases. The result was the addition of a year to the elementary school, and as a consequence, over-ageness or retardation resulted, depending upon the point-of-view. After the one year of special English instruction, the pupils were phased into the regular school programs, where English was the language of instruction. Here and there some additional English-as-a-second language instruction was given in the second grade but this was not the usual practice. Interestingly enough, these early programs assumed that whatever English instruction was necessary, it should be limited to oral language. As a result, few materials, programs, or techniques for teaching English-as-a-second-language in the other language arts area were developed.

The so–called "linguistic approaches" found in general use in the Southwest continue some of the same practices as the earlier programs. The rationale and technique of language teaching have changed, but the same assumptions, generally, continue to be made about teaching only the oral language.

It is desirable, at the present stage of English-as-a-second-language-instruction, to identify some of the errors that have been, and are still being made. As indicated above, the first one was to limit the teaching of English to the pre-first grade. Although this was later rectified to include some instruction in the second and third grades, it is only at present that it is generally recognized that for Spanish-speaking pupils, English must be

taught as a second language all through the grades and perhaps through high school. Whether the second language approach should be continued in college is dependent upon how well the student has learned English when he graduates from high school.

Zintz has found that even for students who no longer speak any Spanish, the more subtle forms of English continue to be troublesome. (3)

A second error was to limit the English program to the teaching of oral English. The other language arts – reading, spelling, writing – and, in the pre-linguistic era, grammar, were taught as if the student were a native user of English. To the writer's knowledge, no program, at present, includes a second language approach in all the language arts. Some steps in this direction have been made for the period of initial reading with the so-called "Linguistic Readers" (4), but these are primarily related to oral expression and not to reading skills, vocabulary acquisition, and broadening of reading interests. The phasing from The Linguistic Readers into the regular reading programs above the third grade is still an unresolved problem.

It is likely that along with instruction in the phonological and syntactical aspects of English in the middle and upper grades of the elementary school and the junior and senior high schools, greater attention must be given to the semantic aspects of English. The pioneering work of Zintz in calling attention to those aspects of English – idioms, analogies, multiple meanings, slang, antonyms, homonyms – in which native speakers of Spanish need direct instruction, is still to be incorporated both in the oral, the written, and the reading programs (5). Since most reading series do not provide the teacher with any suggestions for the teaching of these aspects of language, supplementary teacher guides might be an answer.

A third error has been the lack of recognition of degrees of bilingualism. As a consequence there has been no development of programs, diagnostic measure, or instructional materials for students at different levels of English mastery. Since the mastery of English is on a continuum, some pupils come to school with little or no knowledge of English; others come to school with some knowledge of English; still others come to school with considerable facility in the use of English. Present programs, generally, do not provide for these variations.

There is some evidence that teachers are beginning to recognize these differences. Such statements as "The Spanish-speakers are really nonlingual in both languages", which although a gross misstatement, nevertheless is evidence that there is some sensitivity to the bilingualism continuum. Unfortunately, little is being done in programming and instruction about this realization.

The Oral Language Program. Present oral language programs using linguistic approaches are in use throughout the Southwest. They leave much to be desired as presently implemented. Quite often, well-conceived programs deteriorate into routine pattern practice with no objective other than repetition. Well programmed and articulated English-as-a-second-language programs are badly needed. The "Wilson materials" that are in the process of being tested may hopefully fill this need.

Even with ideally programmed and implemented, linguistically-sound materials, the question arises whether these approaches can meet all the English needs of Mexican-American students. Theoretically, oral language programs should include attention to the phonology, syntax, and meaning systems of the language. These can be complete in themselves and still be ineffective. Such factors as the interests and motivational systems of the pupils, as well as the curricular and learning needs of the pupils, must be considered in the total programming.

A major lack in the English programming for Mexican-Americans has been the lack of trained teachers. The various Federal programs, however, are beginning to remedy this situation. Teacher preparation institutions are beginning to give some attention to the preparation of teachers for Mexican-American children and youth. Generally, the teacher preparation institutions are limiting themselves to training teachers for teaching English to Mexican-American students. Other aspects of the program should include knowledge of the culture, problems faced by the Mexican-American in the transculturation process, the development of materials and adaptation of those available, and other aspects discussed in succeeding pages of this paper.

Summary. The English-as-a-second-language program for Mexican-Americans should include the following:

1. The second language approach should be continued through the elementary school at least; preferably through the high school and perhaps into college.

2. Diagnostic and performance tests need to be developed in order to determine the stage of bilinguality of students and in order to determine the specific linguistic and language-arts needs of students.

3. A wide variety of multi-level, well articulated, programmed materials needs to be developed to meet both the group and individual needs of students.

4. The second language approach needs to be applied to the other language arts.

5. The Mexican-American student needs help in the application of language skills to the content areas. This is simply an extension of the principle that instruction in English needs to be extended to the other language arts. In this case it is the extension of the use of language skills to the other curricular areas. The error can be made here in believing that the Mexican-American student will automatically apply his English knowledge to the content areas. Our present knowledge of the influence of culture indicates that it is pervasive and affects not only the linguistic and the content areas but the affective area as well.

6. The teacher preparation implications of the above factors need considerable exploration and attention.

The Teaching of Spanish

Prior to World War II the teaching of Spanish to Spanish-speaking children and youth was not greatly differentiated from the teaching of Spanish to non-Spanish-speakers. A number of serious efforts were made, however to introduce the teaching of Spanish in the elementary schools. These earlier programs seemed to focus on the following objectives:

a. to resuscitate interest in learning Spanish, which was fast disappearing among the younger generation;

b. to recognize the cultural heritage of the Spanish-speaking person;

c. to develop acceptance on the part of the Anglo of the fact that Hispanic culture – modified into Criollo culture – had as much right in America as the majority culture.

There appear to be three different ideas regarding the teaching of Spanish to Mexican-Americans. The first idea is that for both Anglo and Mexican-Americans the learning of another language is culturally desirable. The other language could be French, German, or Russian, except that in the Southwest it makes sense to learn Spanish. The major language is still to be English. A second idea is that learning Spanish is desirable in order to keep the language functioning as part of the Mexican-American culture. There has already been too much erosion of the way of life of the Mexican-American. Language is a manifestation of this; therefore the learning of Spanish is a way of reinforcing the culture. A third idea is to use Spanish as the major language of instruction, replacing English, at least through the early grades, then phasing into English as the language of instruction in the middle grades.

Any of the three positions indicated makes programming a complex matter because of the heterogeneity of language ability among the Mexican-Americans in the different states, within the states, and within the local school districts. Further problems arise in schools with mixed Anglo and Mexican-American school populations.

A good deal of experimentation needs to be carried on. For those pupils to whom Spanish will be a second language, the problems and comments identified in the teaching of English-as-a-second-language are just as pertinent. For those students for whom Spanish will not be a second language, the problems, as yet unmet and unsolved, of phasing into English in all its uses, constitute a real challenge to programmers.

Two additional problems need to be identified and attention given to them, regardless of which thrust is followed in the teaching of Spanish. One is the lack of adequate and varied materials of instruction. The other is the preparation of teachers. The books and materials used in the teaching of Spanish in this country have been the most unimaginative and dull of all teaching materials available on the market. There exists a

wealth of materials of instruction in Latin America that has not been used in the United States schools. Newspapers, magazines, charts, pictures, travel posters, maps, and books for Latin Americans would provide at least some additional materials. These would provide variety and make it possible to meet individual needs. Even with all the Latin American materials there is a need for well-developed instructional materials for the teaching of Spanish in both elementary and high schools. Paradoxically, the development of materials for the teaching of Spanish in this country seems to be at the same stage that materials for the teaching of English-as-a-second-language were just a few years ago. Whether American textbook publishers are willing to invest in the production of suitable materials for what, to them, is a limited market, is still an unanswered question. It is likely that immediately ahead, most materials will have to be developed by the federally funded service and research centers, by the educators in the local school districts, or by the teachers themselves. Badly needed is a bibliography of available materials from Latin America and from Spain that would be useful in American schools.

A rather interesting point of view exists regarding teachers for the elementary schools' programs, namely, that there are plenty of Spanish-speaking teachers in all states of the Southwest who can be the teachers of Spanish, regardless of whether they have special training or not. Such an idea is an error that can smash the teaching-of-Spanish programs on the rocks of faddism and ineptness.

In the first place, it is questionable that all elementary teachers of Mexican-American descent can and do speak Spanish fluently enough. The tremendous emphasis on the learning of English and the lack of interaction with Mexico and other Latin American countries, has gradually caused many Mexican-American teachers to forget the Spanish they once knew. In the second place, many teachers who will still speak Spanish fluently simply have no notion of the linguistic composition of their own language, and hence are only dilettantes in the teaching of their own language. Thirdly, especially, for those programs in which Spanish is to be the language of instruction, the lack of knowledge (combined with the lack of materials) of Spanish language arts on the part of the teacher, will lead to chaos, or more disastrously, to poor education for the pupils. Fourthly, modern linguistic approaches require special training in theory and practice.

The reading program provides an example. One element of a good reading program, is to help the students become independent readers. Teaching children the needed word-attack skills is involved. Most teachers would not have the knowledge of the Spanish linguistic elements involved.

The all Spanish program is badly in need of curricular programming. Off-the-cuff curricula combined with objectiveless teaching will do more harm and in retrospect, will reduce the teaching of Spanish to "another fad" of American education.

One further aspect of teacher preparation is the cultural component. An important aspect of the Spanish program should be the teaching of the historical-cultural matrix of

the language. It is doubtful that, except for a few, most teachers have sufficient knowledge of the history and literature of Spain, Mexico, and other Latin-American countries as well as the Hispanic-Mexican development within this country.

How much training can be done at the inservice level is a moot question. If the teaching of Spanish and its use as the language of instruction are to be permanent, teacher training institutions need to become involved.

II. COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

Another phase of the school program for Mexican-American pupils is closely related to language learning. This is the matter of Cognitive Development. It is singled out for special attention because of its significant relation to school performance and because of the relative lack of previous attention to it. A total program would include similar attention to physical, social, and affective development.

Setting aside the measurement instruments problem and the cultural problem, and using performance in the middle-class-Anglo-school and curriculum as the criterion for comparison, the Spanish-speaking lower class student's performance is lower significantly than the Anglo's. There are, of course, many reasons that can be forwarded in explanation, quite valid reasons, in fact. The point here is simply that the Spanish-speaking lower-class pupil, and he is the major problem educationally speaking, does not perform well in the Anglo-middle class-oriented-school. As the pupil progresses through the grades and through secondary school, the disadvantaged comparison gets wider.

The thesis advanced here is that, among other factors, one of the principal ones that is involved in the school performance phenomena is the lack of sufficient attention to the cognitive development of the Spanish-speaking pupil. The work of Piaget, Bruner, Deutsch, and others provides much insight into cognitive development. The implications of the work and thought of these investigators needs to be explored as it applies to the Mexican-American.

There are at least three pertinent implications for programming that are evident from the works of the investigators of cognitive development that have immediate applicability to the education of Mexican-Americans. The first has to do with very early childhood education; the second with the transition from the primary grades' empirically-oriented curriculum to the more abstract one of the middle grades, and increasingly so from then on; and the third one has to do with the application of "thinking strategies", as Hilda Taba called them.

The tremendous importance of the first two or three years of life in the mental development of children has become increasingly clearer with recent investigations, especially as regards instrumental learning. It may be that Head Start programs are too late; that we need to begin to work with children much earlier, perhaps even with

prospective parents. It will mean that early childhood programs will have to pay considerably more attention to cognitive development than has been the case in current ones, especially in the development of mental schema by children.

Since concept development and language are so intimately related, the English-as-a-second-language programs need to pay much more attention to cognitive learning than is true of current practice (6).

Concept development and thinking are similarly related. Attention has been called by Zintz to the disadvantaged position of the Spanish-speaking in concept development as this is measured in vocabulary, especially in the more subtle forms such as in idioms, words of multiple meaning, antonyms, synonyms and the like, with the obvious, but unimplemented implication of giving direct instruction in these forms of language.

There is similarly little knowledge regarding thinking. It would seem that Spanish-speaking pupils do not make the transition from the lower categories, as in Bloom's taxonomy, to the higher, more abstract ones. In the typical school curriculum the more abstract and difficult processes begin to be emphasized about the fourth grade. It does not appear desirable, however, to wait until the fourth grade to give direct instruction in thinking, such preparatory work for the higher level thought processes must begin with the first grade. The work of Taba is indicative of the feasibility of so doing.

The type of program content needed is not in materials of instruction but in the teacher's repertoire of knowledge and skills. The need for teacher training programs, both at the pre-service and inservice levels to teach teachers how to develop cognitive abilities in the Spanish-speaking child is evident.

If Piaget's stages of mental development apply to the Mexican-American child, one possible explanation of poor school performance may be traced back to early childhood, when children from lower-class homes may not have had the chance to develop as large a variety of mental concepts as those from middle class homes.(7).

The work of so-called "input" psychologists has indicated that very early negative conditioning has depressing effects on the development of later instrumental learning. It may be that many Mexican-American children from lower-class homes are conditioned negatively. The work of Deutsch and others with disadvantaged children seems to bear this out.

Finally, cultural conditioning of thinking processes may be another factor involved. Anthropologists have pointed out that Mexican-American culture is the mirror-image of Anglo culture. Mexican-American culture is more pragmatically and empirically oriented than Anglo middle-class culture. A reasonable hypothesis that is closely related is that the culture also calls for thinking processes that are similarly oriented. If this is so, this also helps to explain the lower performance of the Mexican-American. (8)

These three factors, among others, have profound implications for research and practice. They merit the most serious consideration possible from educators charged with the responsibility for the education of Mexican-Americans.

III. AFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT

Another important area in which programming is badly needed is in the affective domain. This is a complex area. In some ways this is the most important as well as the most neglected area in the education of Mexican-Americans. The results and costs of neglect or failure to diagnose the area are with us everywhere. Emotional conflicts, damaged concepts of self, bitterness, dropouts, alienation, marginality, a feeling of shame in being a Mexican-American, delinquency, and so on down a long list of behaviors, are some of the results and costs of the neglect. It is high time that attention be given to the problems in the schools.

One of the basic reasons why the affective development of Mexican-Americans has been neglected lies in the lack of comprehension, by otherwise well meaning teachers, of what it means to be a member of a group whose ways of life are different from the majority group. "Children are children," it is said. "Treat each child as an individual." "I find that Mexican-American students have the same needs as Anglo students." "Mexican-American children are not different than Anglo children." "True, they have a need to learn English, but beyond this they are no different than Anglo children." "Don't emphasize differences, emphasize similarities."

Such comments, while praiseworthy from a democratic, ideological point-of-view, tend to pass over as relatively unimportant, differences in ways of life which sink down to the very roots of behavior. This matter is not only misunderstood or mis-conceptualized by Anglo teachers and educators alone, but by many Mexican-Americans as well.

It is of tremendous importance to understand the dynamics of acculturation, to begin to grasp what is involved. Being born into a cultural group that is different from the majority has consequences that are much deeper than discussions about democratic ideology or appreciation of another culture.

Being born a Mexican-American means that a child will learn about the world that which the Mexican-American culture teaches him. He will pay attention to things that his culture emphasizes. He will also learn to feel in certain ways about people, about events, about himself. He will learn certain food preferences, certain religious preferences, habits and ways of behaving in situations. He will develop certain attitudes about sex, about death, about the Anglo, in short, about all the important and unimportant aspects of living. He will become a Mexican-American, not an Anglo, not an Eskimo, not a German.

The way of life of the Mexican-American child is different from that of the Anglo child. From the moment he is born he is conditioned to this way of life. What he pays

attention to in the world cognitively, how he is supposed to react to it emotionally, how he is to think about it, the language he is to use to express himself about it, are all determined by the socializing agents in his world. In short, his behavior is well set before he comes to the Anglo school. Here he meets a very different set of circumstances, which call for different behaviors and which provide different cues for behaving than those he has learned and made a part of his interior self. It is a problem to which little attention has been given both in theory and in practice. The emotional costs to the Mexican-American have been tremendous, but like the part of the iceberg that is below water, not the most obvious.

It is this process of formation that explains why a German is different from an American and an American different from a Mexican. The important differences are not biological, nor in intelligence, nor in aptitude. In fact these aspects are influenced profoundly by his culture, as we now know.

Learning a culture involves not only cognitive elements but feelings as well. The Mexican-American child learns not only what he is to know about his own way of life, but how he is to feel about it. The socialization process helps him to develop an emotional "set" that is consistent with his culture, so that as an adult he feels about his world as a Mexican-American. This happens only if he is totally socialized within his culture. However, when he comes to school he is socialized in a different culture than his own. Each culture tries to produce a person with a sense of values that gives meaning to his life, that provides the focus around which his emotional life is organized. (9)

A Mexican-American child is faced with the problem of working out for himself some way of resolving the contradictions of the covert aspects of both Anglo and Mexican-American culture. Small wonder that he grows up with all the conflicts, hates, aggressions, and unhappiness that accompanies damaged personalities. This is one of the most terrible "crimes" that the school has perpetrated and one to which immediate attention must be given. How such a central aspect of development could be overlooked is at once a puzzle and a tragedy of democratic education. What's more, it is still relatively little understood by educators.

Much of the psychological damage that is incurred by the Mexican-American student is not the result of conscious policy. The pressures on teachers to teach subject matter tend to channel their attention to this aspect of schooling, and, by neglect, give less attention to emotional development, especially in the high school. The curriculum has been deified in itself so that changes are made very slowly. It might be helpful to instill in teachers the notion that the curriculum is essentially a plan to bring about desired behaviors in students, and, as a plan, can and should be changed if it does not do what it was set up for. Lack of knowledge of the cultures and the dynamics of acculturation on the part of teachers are also involved. If added to these factors is the natural ethnocentrism of teachers, much of the reason for the apparent callousness toward the affective development is explainable, although not justified.

What should the teachers do when this "different" child comes to school? The things that the usual American school teaches are derived from Anglo-American culture: a different language – English, different values, achievement not ascription, competition not collaboration, material values not human relations, future orientations not present or past, mastery-over-nature not subjugation to nature, the contributions of Thomas Jefferson not Benito Juarez, and so on and on. The Mexican-American child has no choice. Maybe this is as it should be. There is much difference of opinion about this matter both among Anglos and among Mexican-Americans.

There are some people who hold the position that the sooner the Mexican-American learns to operate effectively in the way of life of the majority, the better off he'll be; that to continue reinforcing a way of life that is anachronistic in the 20th Century is simply to compound the problem for the Mexican-American. Others believe that in a democratic country cultural pluralism must not only be valued but encouraged because it enhances the richness and diversity of American Life. Between these two positions are all grades and degrees of opinion. This is, no doubt, a very difficult problem to resolve. One observes that decisions are being made quite indirectly that determine how things will go. These are not rationally determined. Things are not happening this way. The policy is drift, not direction, but the question being explored here is not a philosophic one; it has to do with the psychological consequences to the Mexican-American child – a neglected area of educational planning and practice.

Two factors seem to be involved in present practice:

1. The ethnocentric position taken regarding the majority culture, and as a consequence the down grading and gradual obliteration of the culture of the Mexican-American, and

2. The walls of prejudice and discrimination raised by the majority culture, which prevent the Mexican-American from full sharing of the majority culture.

The school curriculum is an Anglo, middle-class curriculum. In content, in instructional procedure, in tests, in expectations, in teachers, it favors the Anglo middle-class pupil, and discriminates against the Mexican-American. The social class factor simply compounds the discrimination. A couple of the more obvious examples well demonstrate this. In school after school in the Southwest, teachers prohibit Mexican-American children from speaking Spanish during recess periods under the rationale that they must practice English. Tests have come under attack because they are not culture free. The cultural myopia of the tests makers has made them focus on test content, ignoring the conditioning of culture on thought processes, as they labor to construct so-called "culture-free" tests.

The results of present school policy and practice have had, and are having, deeply damaging psychological consequences for the Mexican-American student.

What implications for school programming are there in these factors? For one thing, sympathy is not enough, nor is toleration. At least three areas where changes must be made can be identified:

a) in teachers and administrative personnel

b) in the curricular and instructional programs, and

c) in the guidance and counseling programs.

Teachers of Mexican-American children must be especially prepared. The teacher who goes through the usual teacher preparation program is the one who is presently in the schools and, in most cases, is quite unconsciously damaging the Mexican-American child psychologically; this includes the Mexican-American teacher as well as the Anglo.

The preparation programs for teachers of Mexican-American teachers should include detailed knowledge of both Anglo and Mexican-American cultures, knowledge of the dynamics of transculturation, knowledge of how cultural processes operate in the cognitive and affective development of children, and "sensitivity-training" that will free the teacher from cultural ethnocentrism on the one hand and allow acceptance of Mexican-American culture on the other. It is not enough to know about the culture; it must be felt.

Administrators need similar preparation and, in addition, training in community leadership in order to help change community attitudes.

There is need for much curricular and instructional experimentation in educational programs for Mexican-Americans. The special needs of Mexican-American students call for more than "thinking" knowledge of curriculum and instructional development; they call for "feeling" knowledge as well. Elements of Mexican-American history and culture must be woven into curricular offerings for both Anglo and Mexican-American students. Whether curricular experimentation is to be in the hands of teachers or curriculum committees, both need to have training in curriculum development. A neglected aspect of curriculum development has been the lack of attention to the instructional activities that make content objectives realizable, especially in relation to the development of thinking objectives. Teachers, supervisors, administrators and central office personnel need training in these aspects of curriculum development.

Finally, all children need special training. The program for training guidance personnel under the direction of Dr. Owen Caskey in Lubbock should be watched with special interest as a model.

If in the past, schools have been unwilling or unable to change the curriculum in order to better meet the needs of Mexican-American children, they have been even more

neglectful on the affective development. It is imperative that this is recognized and corrected. Otherwise the psychological damage will continue.

IV. INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

A fourth aspect to which attention must be given is the matter of Inter-Group Relations.

For the Mexican-American the major inter-group relations problems are with the Anglo. Programs that tackle the problems of inter-group relations have been generally absent from most schools and communities. We are witnessing the results of this neglect in the race riots and violence of the past few years. These only make more urgent the immediate instituting of inter-group relations programs both in schools and communities.

The accommodational patterns that have evolved in this country vary somewhat from state to state, but generally the Mexican-American community is cast in the role of the subordinate group. In some situations Mexican-Americans are the recipients of open discrimination; in others the discrimination runs the gamut. The rewards of the social system in both economic and prestige terms go to the majority group. The Mexican-American is always found in the slum areas of the cities as well as in rural slums. No matter what index is used – health, mortality, education, occupation, income, the Mexican-American is always in a disadvantaged position, comparatively.

The fact that the federal government has had to step into the picture is indicative of the failure of local communities and states to tackle the problem. However, only so much can be done with providing better housing, better health facilities, assuring equal employment opportunities, and upgrading the education of people. At the very heart of the problem is the matter of attitudinal change – and this is a phase of the problem to which not enough attention has been given.

The social distance between the Mexican-American and the Anglo will not necessarily be lessened by the provision of better housing, health, etc, but even if it were, attention would have to be given to the problems of attitudinal change.

Attitudinal change is a two-way street. The problem is somewhat paradoxical. The more the Mexican-American perceives himself discriminated against, the more he holds on to his own culture, and the more anti-gringo he becomes. The Mexican-American has become extremely sensitive to prejudice because of his previous experience with the Anglo – at times reacting negatively when no prejudice exists. The Mexican-American is dubious of even genuinely authentic good-will programs. There exists among the Mexican-American community an anti-Anglo feeling that is discriminatory against the Anglo.

An incident that occurred in a Southwestern city some years ago exemplifies both the problem and the tragedy of the inter-group problem. A Mexican-American elementary

school principal who had, he thought, been discriminated against because of his dark complexion and Spanish accent, bought a home in an exclusively Anglo neighborhood. (How he got into this neighborhood is a story of how discrimination is involved in the real estate group). He forbad his father and mother to visit him and he forbad his wife's relatives as well. He did not want his neighbors to know that he was a Mexican-American. He spoke English to his children. Obviously, he fooled no one. He was visibly Mexican. The question that is pertinent to ask is why he felt he had to take such steps. The answer lies in the Anglo group's discrimination. If this man had not felt the prejudice against him there would have been no need to have done this.

Programs of inter-group relations must be instituted in schools and communities primarily because there is no place in a democratic society for discrimination by one group against another. The violation of the dignity of the individual and the hurts that go deeply into the personality and persist throughout life are tragic psychological consequences of prejudice. A negative reason is that unless programs to prevent riots and violence are begun, we can only forsee trouble and dissension. One thing is clear – that the Mexican-American will no longer accept a subordinate role in the society. A misreading of the Mexican-American mood by the Anglo will bring unwanted consequences in the years ahead.

Prejudice is learned. Investigations have shown that attitudes and stereotypes about minority groups are learned by children quite early in life. Children are not born with prejudice against others because of race, religion, color, or culture. The process of conditioning in the family and community begins quite early. The family in the community is the place where the cycle must be broken. The community council or the council of social agencies in a community have often been used as the main agency to implement inter-group community programs. One of the major drawbacks to these groups is that they do not ordinarily include the representatives of the political-economic power structure of the community.

Laws prohibiting discriminatory practices in a community are basic to the whole inter-group problem, but alone cannot change community attitudes. Legal measures must be supplemented by educational programs. Television offers some opportunities which were not available some years ago. Expert help is needed in instituting community programs. Much experimentation and research are needed in this area but some experience is available from such organizations as the B'nai B'rith and the National Council of Christians and Jews.

The school is the next place where inter-group relations programs must be instituted. Many of the early studies regarding inter-group relations in schools showed the students segregating themselves by ethnic groups outside of classes. The phenomenon is quite prevalent today, as can easily be ascertained by observation.

There have been relatively few well conceived, positively-oriented, systematic programs in schools. Aside from an occasional social studies unit the treats inter-group

relations indirectly, most schools have closed their eyes to the problem, probably because it is controversial in the community. It is therefore desirable to use representative committees from the community to help the schools in much the same way other controversial issues have been handled.

There are many very fine materials of instruction available on inter-group relations. Social studies materials being used now in Contra Costa County, California, developed under the guidance of Dr. Hilda Taba, are examples of promising practices.

What are lacking are stories, pictures, and biographic information on Mexican-American heroes, achievements, and culture. The history of the Southwest has still to be taught in the schools. We cannot expect changes in ideas and attitudes in the Anglo toward the Mexican-American nor in the Mexican-American toward the Anglo unless we start to work at the problem. At this time of heightened tension the long range objectives are apt to be forgotten. The Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation is developing a series of textbooks designed to teach cultural identification of the Navajo student with his own cultural heritage.

V. OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION

Some realistic thought needs to be given to the occupational-training programs for Mexican-Americans both in school and out-of-school. The problems inherent in this area are in many ways similar to those of other minority groups. For most lower class Mexican-Americans the junior high and the senior high are terminal education points. The general education bias has acted as an obstacle and has prevented realistic pre-occupational and occupational programs from being developed.

The usual shop and vocational education programs in the school have not been suitable for students who must work for a living while in school and immediately upon leaving school. In fact, the economic factor has been an important one in early school leaving.

The distributive education programs have partly answered the need for the in-school students. The occupational programs must accommodate those going into unskilled, skilled, and white-collar occupations. It is to the unskilled and skilled categories that attention needs to be directed. Another consideration which must be given is the matter of occupational mobility. Training for one lifetime occupation is obviously not suitable in the rapidly changing occupational structure of American society.

Courses of short-term duration, as well as longer courses, need to be offered for household workers, dime store clerks, waitresses, mechanics, carpenters, plumbers, secretaries, store managers, filing clerks, translators, filling station operators, house maids, window dressing workers, bus drivers, landscapers, personnel executives, and office managers.

Technical-vocational institutes outside of the regular high school seem to be the answer. It is probable that the junior high school and the senior high school may need to reorient their programs so that students may attend these schools for academic preparation part of the day and the technical-vocational schools another part of the day.

The individual with ability to go to a professional school quite often does not make is because of financial reasons. The establishment of college and university scholarships is badly needed for the college-bound. The Ford Foundation scholarships for Mexican-Americans is an example.

The occupational programs must also include opportunities for retraining. Finally, these programs must provide continuing help in finding jobs and keeping them.

Summary

Five aspects of educational programs for Mexican-Americans in elementary and secondary schools were discussed: language, cognitive development, affective development, inter-group relations and occupational education.

The language needs of Mexican-Americans necessitate using teaching of English-as-a-second-language through the elementary and secondary schools and perhaps into college. Well-articulated programmed materials are badly needed for both the teaching of English and of Spanish. Teachers and other personnel with special training are needed. As regards the program, the teaching of English-as-a-second-language approach needs to extend to all of the language arts areas and not used solely for oral language. As regards other needs than language, curricular programs to meet the specific needs of the Mexican-American are needed.

Another aspect of programming to which attention was devoted was the area of cognitive development. Because language, concept development and thinking are so closely related, the need for learning English (or Spanish) as a medium of expression was still quite basic. Language, however, should assume more and more, through the grades, the plan of means. A hypothesis was advanced that may better explain the low performance of Mexican-American lower class students; this basically held that failure to provide the necessary experiences and training in cognitive development were at the root of the problem. It was held, further, that early conditioning, on the one hand, was deleterious to cognitive development; on the other, the lack of teaching cognitive process by teachers.

The psychological costs incurred by Mexican-Americans in the process of transculturation were identified. Note was made that an individual in one culture is socialized affectively as well as cognitively. When learning a culture that is quite different from the native culture, if no care is taken, the learning of the affective components will produce internal conflict that is psychlogically damaging to the individual. Since the affective processes are unseen, teachers seem unaware of what is occurring. Lack of comprehension of the processes of affective development by teachers, almost sole

concern for teaching content, and even callousness are some of the basic reasons why the area of affective development has been neglected. Measures to overcome some of the problems include knowledge of both Anglo and Mexican-American cultures, and sensitivity training. Also needed is change in community attitudes.

The need for the development of programs in the inter-group relations was also discussed. The fact that Anglos and Mexican-Americans inhabit the same life space, and there is a dissimilarity of the cultural and social organization of both groups, makes it predictable that, unless steps are taken to minimize it, conflict will occur. Holding that there is as much prejudice against the Anglo as there is on the part of the Anglo against the Mexican-American, the inter-group education programs are needed for both groups. Such programs must extend to the community, which is the matrix where prejudice is learned.

Brief attention was given to occupational education. The need to earn a living, on the one hand, and the use of occupations for upward mobility, made occupational education an important area of school programming. Traditional vocational education programs in the high schools do not meet the needs of Mexican-Americans adequately. More diversified offerings are needed. Exploration of the feasibility of providing occupational education in the junior high as well as in the senior high school and past high school needs to be made since for many students these are terminal points in their education.

FOOTNOTES

1. Frank Angel. "The Education of Navajo Children". Paper presented at Shiprock Conference on Indian Education. September, 1966. (Mimeographed) A brief historical review of early attempts in the Southwest in the teaching of English to Spanish-speaking children is made.

2. Notably George Sanchez.

3. Miles V. Zintz, Education Across Cultures. Wm. C. Brown Book Company, Dubuque, Iowa, 1963.

4. The Miami Linguistic Readers.

5. Zintz, Corrective Reading Wm. C. Brown Book Co., Dubuque, Iowa, 1966. Chapter V: "Teaching the Language-Handicapped".

6. The Deutsch studies of the language acquisition of lower-class children has thrown much light on the processes related to the language development of lower-class children.

7. John H. Flavell, The Development Psychology of Jean Piaget. D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. Princeton, New Jersey, 1963.

8. Florence R. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodbeck, Variations in Value Orientations. Row, Peterson and Company, Evanston, Illinois, 1961.

9. Benjamin Bloom, et. al, Taxonomy of Educational Objectives. Handbook II: The Affective Domain. David McKay Company, Inc. N.Y. Bloom and his colleagues provide a taxonomy that shows the stages through which an individual must pass as he develops a consistent set of affective behaviors that provide internal meaning to his life. The Mexican-American is faced with the problem of not only developing one set of emotional behaviors in his own culture but somehow resolving deeply conflicting ones between his own culture and the Anglo. It is almost as if we set out to make him schizoidal.